

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1867

SECDEF WASHDC

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USNMR SHAPE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS REPORT OF AD HOC

GROUP MEETING MONDAY 4 MARCH 1973

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE AD HOC GROUP MEETING ON 4 MARCH 1974, CHAIRED BY NORWEGIAN DEP REP (VARNO) DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING: A) THE AGREEMENT BY THE WARSAW PACT TO CHANGE THE FREQUENCY OF PLENARY MEETINGS FROM TWO PER WEEK TO ONE PER WEEK; B) POSSIBLE ACTIONS BY ALLIES AS A RESULT OF AN AUSTRIAN NEWSPAPER ARTICLE WHICH DISCUSSED THE INFORMAL MULTILATERAL TALKS, AND STATED THAT SUCH TALKS DEALT MOSTLY WITH REDUCTIONS OF AIR, NUCLEAR AND NATIONAL FORCES; C) TALKING POINTS TO BE USED BY THE ALLIED REPS AT THE INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE WARSAW PACT ON 4 MARCH; AND D) SCHEDULING AND HOSTING OF INFORMAL MEETINGS

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THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST ROUND.

END SUMMARY.

PLENARY FREQUENCY

1. THE AD HOC GROUP MEETING ON 4 MARCH OPENED WITH A REPORT BY BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) CONCERNING HIS DISCUSSION WITH POLISH REP (STRULAK) ON REDUCING THE FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES. POLISH REP HAD INFORMED BELGIAN REP THAT IN VIEW OF THE PROGRESS IN INFORMAL MEETINGS, THE EAST COULD AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO ONE PLENARY SESSION PER WEEK, AT LEAST INITIALLY TO BE HELD ON THURSDAYS.

NEWSPAPER LEAKS

2. FRG REP (BEHREND) INTRODUCED A DISCUSSION OF A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE FROM THE 1 MARCH WEINER ZEITUNG WHICH DISCUSSED THE INFORMAL MULTILATERAL TALKS AND STATED THAT SUCH TALKS DEALT MOSTLY WITH REDUCTION OF AIR FORCES, NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND NATIONAL FORCES. FRG REP STATED THAT THIS BREACH OF CONFIDENTIALITY WAS DAMAGING TO THE WESTERN POSITION AND THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD OBJECT STRENUOUSLY TO THE EAST. THE UK REP (ROSE) AGREED, ADDING THAT THIS WAS THE THIRD TIME IN RECENT WEEKS THAT A LEAK HAS APPEARED. OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY THE EASTERN SIDE AND USUALLY IN SOME WAY DAMAGING TO THE WESTERN POSITION. THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER TAKING THIS SUBJECT UP WITH THE SOVIET REP AT THE INFORMAL MEETING ON 4 MARCH. THE UK REP CONTINUED THAT THERE WERE REALLY TWO QUESTIONS INVOLVED: ONE, TO PROTEST TO THE OTHER SIDE, AND TWO, TO DETERMINE WHAT SHOULD BE SAID TO THE PRESS. IT WAS THE UK REP'S VIEW THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT REACT STRONGLY TO THE PRESS, BUT SHOULD CONTINUE THE SAME LINE AS BEFORE; THAT IS, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT MANY INFORMAL CONTACTS OCCUR AND THAT MANY MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED AT SUCH MEETINGS, BUT THAT THE ALLIES DO NOT INTEND TO GO INTO THE DETAIL OF THESE DISCUSSIONS FOR THE PUBLIC.

3. THE BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) STATED THAT HE
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AGREED WITH THE FRG AND UK REPS BUT ADDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT OBJECT TOO STRONGLY. HE SAID THAT THE EASTERN SIDE MIGHT NEED AN ALIBI FOR ABANDONING ITS TWO PLENARIES PER WEEK POSITION, AND THAT THEREFORE THIS LEAK MAY BE DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A PUBLIC RATIONALE FOR THIS SHIFT. UK REP SAID THAT THE HARM IS NOT IN THE PRINCIPLE OF THE LEAK, BUT IN THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER. THE

IMPRESSION LEFT WITH THE PUBLIC IS THAT THE MBFR TALKS HAVE ENTERED A NEW PHASE IN WHICH THE PRINCIPLE DISCUSSIONS CENTER ON REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) SUPPORTED THE VIEWS OF THE UK REP THAT ALLIES SHOULD ADHERE TO THE ESTABLISHED POSITION THAT THERE ARE ALWAYS INFORMAL CONTACTS AND THAT DISCUSSIONS OF THESE MEETINGS NORMALLY COVER ALL SUBJECTS TO INCLUDE US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES.

4. FRG REP, REFERRING TO EARLIER DISCLOSURES OF PLENARY STATEMENTS, SAID THAT HE FELT THIS LEAK WAS A PART OF A GENERALIZED PRESS CAMPAIGN FROM THE EAST. THE FRG REP ASKED IF PERHAPS THE ALLIES SHOULD BE DOING THE SAME TYPE OF THING. THE ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) STATED THAT HE AGREED THE PROBLEM WAS SERIOUS AND, FURTHER, THAT HE BELIEVED THE EAST WAS ENCOURAGED BECAUSE SO FAR THEY HAD DRAWN NO REACTION FROM THE WEST. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD DO SOMETHING IN RESPONSE, PERHAPS LEAKING THE WESTERN POSITION TO THE PRESS. HE ADDED THAT IF THE PUBLIC COMES TO BELIEVE INFORMATION IN THE WESTERN PRESS LEAKS, PUBLIC OPINION CAN BE USED AS A LEVER AGAINST THE WEST AS NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE. THE CHAIRMAN ASKED IF IT WERE NOT POSSIBLE TO MERELY TELL THE PRESS THAT INFORMAL CONTACTS ARE GOING ON AND DO COVER ALL SUBJECTS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME LODGING A PROTEST WITH AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV. THE US REP AGREED WITH THE CHAIRMAN, CAUTIONING THAT THE ALLIES NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN A PRESS WAR AT THIS TIME. THE BELGIAN REP ALSO AGREED, STATING THAT MUTUAL EAST-WEST GROUND RULES
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6. THE CHAIRMAN THEN ASKED IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SAY, ONE, THAT THE CURRENT REPORT IS INACCURATE, AND TWO, THAT CURRENT DISCUSSIONS ARE CENTERING ON GROUND FORCES OF THE US AND SOVIET AND OTHER MATTERS. US DEL OFFICER AGREED, CAUTIONING THAT IN ANY ALLIED STATEMENT TO THE PRESS, THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE INFORMAL MEETINGS SHOULD BE AVOIDED. THE UK REP SUMMED UP THE DISCUSSION IN THIS AREA BY STATING THAT, IN THE EASTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN, WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS NOT WHAT IS REPORTED, BUT RATHER WHAT IS PICKED UP AND REPEATED IN THE WEST. UK REP SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN HAD MADE SIGNIFICANT INROADS, AND THAT THEREFORE HE WAS NOT CERTAIN HOW SERIOUSLY WE NEEDED TO WORRY AT THIS POINT IN TIME. THE NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT THIS DISCUSSION DID INDICATED A POSSIBLE NEED FOR AN ALLIED PRESS CONFERENCE NEAR THE END OF THE SESSION IN LATER APRIL. THE ALLIES,

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THEREFORE, SHOULD DECIDE IN ADVANCE AND PREPARE FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE, RATHER THAN WAIT AND REACT TO A PACT INITIATIVE. GROUP AGREED WITH THIS SUGGESTION.

TALKING POINTS FOR 4 MARCH MEETING

7. THE AHG THEN TURNED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS INTENDED TO BE USED AT THE 4 MARCH INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE WARSAW PACT. THE ITALIAN REP STATED THAT HE BELIEVED THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS WERE VERY USEFUL; HOWEVER, THEY HAD ONE PROBLEM IN THAT THEY DID NOT SUFFICIENTLY ADDRESS THE COMMON CEILING. THE ITALIAN REP STATED THAT THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IS NATO'S OBJECTIVE, AND THEREFORE THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPAND ON THIS AND ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN A PACT REACTION TO THE CONCEPT. THE UK REP SAID THAT HE AGREED FULLY WITH THE ITALIAN REP'S COMMENTS, BUT FELT THAT THE TALKING POINTS ADEQUATELY HIGHLIGHTED THE ALLIES' COMMON CEILING GOAL. THE FRG REP SUPPORTED THE UK REP. HE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ALLIED EMISSARIES WOULD BE ON THE DEFENSE AT THIS MEETING, AND ASKED, THEREFORE, IF PERHAPS THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSTRUCT SOME QUESTIONS WHICH

COULD BE USED TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IF THE WARSAW PACT QUESTIONS BECAME UNREASONABLE. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE ADDED, THE ALLIES COULD TELL THE PACT THAT IT WAS CLEAR THE EAST OBJECTED TO A COMMON CEILING GOAL FOR PHASE II, AND THEN ASK THE WARSAW PACT REPS SPECIFICALLY WHY THEY OBJECTED? FURTHER, THE FRG REP SAID THE ALLIES COULD POINT OUT THAT AFTER PHASE I REDUCTIONS, THE WARSAW PACT WOULD REGAIN MORE FORCES THAN THEY HAD OVERALL SIX YEARS EARLIER, WHILE NATO WOULD BE AT A CONSIDERABLY LOWER STRENGTH. THE ALLIES COULD THEN ASK IF THE PACT INTENDED TO PERSERVE THIS IMBALANCE, AND IF SO, WITH WHAT JUSTIFICATION?. THERE FOLLOWED A GERNERAL DISCUSSION IN WHICH THE ALLIED REPS SUPPORTED IN VARYING DEGREES THE REMARKS OF THE ITALIAN REP, UK REP AND FRG REP. THE ITALIAN REP CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION BY STATING THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE PAPER NEEDED TO BE REVISED, BUT THAT IT WAS SUFFICIENT THAT THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS KEEP THESE POINTS IN MIND.

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8. GREEK REP SAID THAT HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO INSURE THAT THE SUBJECT OF SECURITY OF THE FLANK STATES WAS RAISED IN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE THIRD SESSION. HE ELABORATED THAT THIS SUBJECT NEED NOT BE PRESENTED IN DETAIL, AND THAT IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOR THE ALLIES TO MAKE CLEAR THE WEST'S INTENTION TO RAISE THE FLANK QUESTION LATER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW, THE GREEK REP SAID HE HAD BELIEVED THAT NEAR THE END OF THE THIRD SESSION WOULD HAVE BEEN AN APPROPRIATE TIME. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE CURRENT SESSION WAS ADDRESSING COMMON-GROUND SUBJECTS, PERHAPS FLANK SECURITY WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATELY DISCUSSED IN THE CURRENT SESSION.

9. THE GREEK REP POINTED OUT THAT CONCERN FOR THE FLANKS STEMMED FROM THE COMMON GROUND OF UNDIMINISHED MILITARY SECURITY OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. HE NOTED THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL ALSO CONTAINS GENERAL UNDIMINISHED MILITARY SECURITY STATEMENTS, AND THAT THE BULGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT OF LAST FALL AND THE POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT IN FEBRUARY HAD BOTH EXPLICITLY DISCUSSED THE COMMON GROUND OF UNDIMINISHED MILITARY SECURITY. THE GREEK REP CONCLUDED, THEREFORE, THAT FLANK SECURITY COULD BE ADDRESSED EITHER IN THE 4 MARCH SESSION, OR AT THE END OF THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS. THE TURKISH DEP REP (UNAN) AGREED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS NOT TO OMIT A STATEMENT CONCERNING THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS SOMETIME IN THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS.

10. THE CHAIRMAN, SPEAKING AS NORWEGIAN REP, AGREED WITH THE GENERAL THOUGHTS EXPRESSED BY THE TURKISH AND GREEK REPS, BUT STATED HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THESE THOUGHTS BELONGED IN THE CURRENT INFORMAL MEETING OR AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE THIRD SESSION. NOTING THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT AT AN INFORMAL MEETINGS, THE NORWEGIAN REP ASKED FOR VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION FROM SOME REP WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT. THE FRG REPLIED THAT A FLANK SECURITY STATEMENT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IN THE 4 MARCH SESSION, AND COULD BE RELATED TO THE PLENARY PRESENTATIONS ON STABILIZING MEASURES AND FLANK SECURITY

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WHICH HE MADE IN FEBRUARY. THE US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT A STATEMENT ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES BE INSERTED IN THE TALKING POINTS FOR THE 4 MARCH INFORMAL MEETINGS: "AMBASSADOR BEHRENDTS ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS, TO WHICH WE INTEND TO RETURN AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME."

11. THE GREEK REP AGREED WITH THIS FORMULATION, SUGGESTING THAT THE WORDS "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR FIRST PHASE APPROACH" BE ADDED. THE GREEK REP THEN CONTINUED BY POSING TO THE AGH THE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD BE OUR POSITION IF THE EASTERN DELEGATES FLATLY REFUSED TO ADDRESS STABILIZING MEASURES. THE GREEK REP REPLIED TO THIS QUESTION BY POINTING OUT (AS HE HAD DONE EARLIER) THAT THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS WAS IN FACT AGREED COMMON GROUND AND THAT THEREFORE IF STABILIZING MEASURES WERE TO FALL OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SECURITY OF THE FLANK NATIONS WOULD STILL REMAIN. THE ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) AGREED WITH THE GREEK REP THAT NATO SHOULD KEEP STABILIZING MEASURES AND FLANK SECURITY AS SEPARATE ITEMS WHEN SPEAKING OF THEM TO THE WARSAW PACT. THE US DEP REP CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE DID

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NOT DISAGREE WITH ANY OF THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES ON THIS SUBJECT, BUT THAT THEIR INCLUSION IN THIS SET OF TALKING POINTS DID NOT RELATE TO THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION.

12. THE NETHERLANDS REP SPOKE TO THE QUESTION OF HOW AND WHEN THE US WOULD SPECIFY WHAT FORCES IT WOULD WITHDRAW IN PHASE I. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE AHG HAD NOT YET FORMULATED A CREDIBLE RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION, STATING THAT THE ALLIES WERE ON WEAK GROUND AT THIS POINT. THE ALLIES MAY HOLD OUT FOR A FEW MORE SESSIONS, BUT WILL NEED TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS ISSUE BEFORE TOO MUCH LONGER.

13. THE UK REP EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THHAT IN THE WESTERN QUESTIONS TO THE EAST ON SOVIET/US GROUND FORCES, THERE WAS TOO MUCH INFERENCE THAT THE TOTAL SOVIET REDUCTION FOR BOTH PHASES IS IDENTICAL WITH THE
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SOVIET REDUCTION PROPOSED BY THE ALLIES FOR PHASE I. THIS COMPARISON CAN LEAD TO AN IMPRESSION BY THE SOVIETS THAT THIS IS THE TOTAL REDUCTION THE ALLIES INTEND TO IMPOSE ON THEIR GROUND FORCES. THE NETHERLANDS REP AND FRG REP VOICED THE SAME CONCERN AS THE UK REP. THE US REP STATED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WELL AWARE THAT THIS IS NOT THE TOTAL EXTENT OF THE SOVIET GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS THE ALLIES INTEND TO SEEK, ALTHOUGH THE DETAILS OF SUBSEQUENT PHASES ARE YET TO BE EXAMINED.

14. THE NETHERLANDS REP ASKED THE AHG WHETHER IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO PREPARE SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PACT VIEWS ON NUCLEAR AND AIR MATTERS. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT IN WARSAW PACT DISCUSSIONS OF THESE MATTERS, THE ALLIES COULD ASK SOME PENETRATING QUESTIONS ON THE EASTERN INTENT AND DETAILS FOR INCLUDING NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES IN MBFR. THE PURPOSE OF THESE QUESTIONS WOULD BE TO PREVENT THE ALLIES FROM ENDING UP ON THE DEFENSIVE. THE UK REP, NOTING THAT THIS SUBJECT WAS ACTUALLY TO BE DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING WEEK UNDER ITEM 2, ADDED THAT THE ALLIES MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO LET THE SOVIET DISCUSSION OF NON-AGREED TOPICS IN ITEM 2 ACQUIRE THE SAME STATUS AS THE COMMONLY AGREED SUBJECT IN ITEM 1. HE ADDED THERE ARE NONETHELESS SOME QUESTIONS WHICH COULD PROBABLY BE USED; HE VOLUNTEERED TO DRAW UP A LIST FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE AHG.

15. THE US DEP REP ASKED HOW MANY QUESTIONS THE AHG REALLY WANTED TO BRING UP IN THESE AREAS. NOTING THAT QUESTIONS INDICATE INTEREST IN THE EASTERN APPROACH, THE US DEP REP CONCLUDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD USE FEW. THE UK REP REPLIED THAT THE ANSWERS TO SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS WOULD BE THE WESTERN POSITION. IN OTHER WORDS, THROUGH PROPER QUESTIONS, THE ALLIES COULD ELICIT RESPONSES WHICH WERE IN LINE WITH THE WESTERN POSITION. THE FRG REP STATED THAT THE ALLIES COULD INITIATE A "STRATEGIC DISCUSSION" SINCE THE EASTERN DELS ARE VERY WEAK IN THIS AREA. THE US DEP REP CONCLUDED THAT PERHAPS A LIMITED
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NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD GUARD AGAINST ASKING TOO MANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND THUS EXPRESSING UNDUE INTEREST IN IT.

16. THE TURKISH DEP REP QUESTIONED WHETHER IN COMPILING SUBSTANTIVE TALKING POINTS FOR USE IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PACT, OUR TOPICS WHICH WENT BEYOND THE ORIGINAL PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL AND DEALING WITH WHOLE RANGE OF SUBJECT MATTER THE AHG MIGHT BE EXCEEDING THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN IT BY THE NAC. THE US DEP REP ASSURED THE TURKISH DEP REP THAT THE ALLIES WERE WITHIN THE COUNCIL GUIDANCE. THE TURKISH REP REPLIED THAT THIS MAY BE TRUE SO FAR, BUT THAT IF THE ALLIES GO INTO DETAILS IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET QUESTIONS, FOR EXAMPLE ON STABILIZING MEASURES, THEN THEY MAY BE EXCEEDING THE TACTICAL GUIDANCE. IN THAT CASE, THE

ALLIES SHOULD DISCUSS ALL AREAS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON THE BASIS OF A NEW COUNCIL DECISION TO DO SO. THE US DEP REP RESPONDED THAT THE ALLIES ARE ONLY MENTIONING SOME OF THESE AREAS IN INFORMAL PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO LEND DIMENSION TO WESTERN POSITIONS, AND THAT THEY DID NOT INTEND TO GO BEYOND THESE BRIEF COMMENTS AT THIS POINT IN TIME. THIS POINT WOULD BE MADE PERFECTLY CLEAR TO THE PACT REP. THE TURKISH DEP REP STATED HE WAS SATISFIED WITH THIS RESPONSE FOR THE MOMENT.

SCHEDULING OF FUTURE MEETINGS

17. THE UK REP RECOMMENDED THAT THE ALLIES PRESS THE SOVIETS TO SCHEDULE TWO INFORMAL MEETINGS NEXT WEEK WITH POSSIBLY TWO THE FOLLOWING WEEK. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE FROM A NEGOTIATING POINT OF VIEW OF AN ALLIED REP HOSTING THE SEVENTH MEETING. IN THIS MANNER, THE ALLIES WOULD BE BETTER ABLE TO STEER THE DISCUSSION TOWARDS WESTERN TOPICS. THE US REP RESPONDED THAT THE ALLIES HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS

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IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS SO FAR, AND HE WAS RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT THE FORMALIZATION OF HOSTING PROCEDURES. HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE ALLIES WATCH WHERE THEY ARE AND SEEK TO OBTAIN THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES WITHOUT A FORMALIZED SYSTEM. THE UK REP NOTED THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL MORE THAN LIKELY WANT TO HOST THE FIRST MEETING ON ITEM 2, AND THE ALLIES WILL WANT TO TAKE THE THIRD MEETING ON ITEM 1. THE US REP COMMENTED THAT IF THE ALLIES CONTINUE THIS SEQUENCE, THEY WILL NATURALLY HOST THE SEVENTH SESSION.HUMES

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